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ABSTRACT

This research paper explores both the meaning of career decisions and the implications of these decisions for teacher education. Since a pilot study indicated that gender realization was influenced by the historical era in which people are raised, four subjects--two men and two women--from different age levels were selected to be the subjects of in-depth case studies. At the onset of the study, all subjects were preservice students; over the course of the study each progressed to the status of novice teacher. Each had left a successful first career. An analysis of the case studies indicated that for each of these subjects the motivation to become a teacher was rooted in a world view comprised of attitudes and values shaped by the home and school experience of early years, particularly the relationship they had with their parents and the gender roles that were the outcome of these experiences. Career decisions and career success and satisfaction had been affected by the presence or absence of role models and mentors. Motivational factors included school experiences, parental expectations, attitudes toward education, developmental needs, desire for autonomy and challenge, and feelings of career achievement. The implications of these findings for schools of education are discussed. (JD)

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GENDER AND THE CHOICE OF TEACHING AS A SECOND CAREER

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by Helen Freidus

> The aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity. (One is unable to notice something because it is always before one's eyes.) The real foundations of his enquiry do not strike a man at all."
>
> Wittgenstein in Sacks: The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat (1985, p.43)

In the 1970s, political and social change strengthened by the legislative support of Affirmative Action created new career options for women. The impact of these changes on the helping professions is well documented. For education, career change meant one thing - OUT. Today, however, we are seeing another swing of the pendulum. Women, who chose to pursue career options in the traditionally male-dominated fields of business and the professions are deciding to leave those careers and to prepare for second careers as teachers. Men are joining them. Who are these people? What does it mean when professional men and "liberated women" turn to careers in the "women's world" of education (Apple, 1985; Feiman-Nemser and Floden,1986; Weiler,1988)?

The gender oriented hierarchy that dominates public school education has existed for more than a century (Tyack, 1974; Apple, 1985, 1986). It has affected job descriptions, personal and professional expectations, curriculum design, and program implementation and evaluation. It is often related to the kind of person who finds a career in teaching appealing and why they do so (Lortie, 1975). If the dynamics of schools and the way teachers affect and are affected by these dynamics are to be understood, the pervasive influence of this hierarchy should not be minimized

The gender hierarchy in the schools parallels a gender hierarchy in society-at-large (Apple, 1985; Lightfoot,1983). The effects of this shaping may be more enduring than many feminists had hoped. It is interesting to note that there are striking similarities between the attributes used by critics to describe the educational environment in America and the attributes associated with traditional feminine gender stereotypes. Rightly or wrongly, passivity, lack of divergent thinking, absence of intellectual rigor, conformity, compliance, narrow focus are common descriptors of traditional schools and traditional women. The significance, if any, in these commonalities may provide important insights into the education process and the experience encountered by those who choose a career in teaching.

OBJECTIVES

This research explores both the meaning of these career decisions for second career teachers themselves and the implications of these decisions for teacher education. A particular focus of the study is the role of gender socialization. The organizing question was: Does the motivation for women to make this career change stem from discomfort or dissatisfaction with a world not consonant with "women's ways of thinking" (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky,1 986; Martin, 1986). It was articulated by one pre-service student in the following way.

> "My years at an all female college have been one of the strongest influences on my life. Four years spent in a community of caring and supportive people, where every aspect of the institution focuses on women, has given me a dynamism and a positive sense of self which I could not have gotten at a coeducational college. Further, it freed me to exist and to succeed without subconscious gender limitations, of which I would have been otherwise unaware. However, I think that I

also misconstrued the college's formula for success and initially interpreted it to mean that true 'success' could only be found competing with males in what has traditionally been an all male field: the corporate or professional world. Partially for that reason, my college career choice was law.

After graduation I went to a position as a paralegal with a view toward further legal exposure and law school in the fall of 1986. All went well until I was assigned to one of the firm's biggest cases, which required eighty hour work weeks, all-nighters at a moment's notice (I quickly learned never to make definite social plans) and ultimately, very little thanks. I was increasingly disillusioned with the legal world. Then, when I was accepted to law school last year, I had a difficult decision with which to wrestle. I concluded that I did not, in fact, want to go to law school. I had been missing contact with children in the 'nine to five' business world and ultimately realized that working with children is where my deepest interest lies.

Furthermore, I think I initially chose law because I was also influenced by society's stereotypical perception of my two career possibilities. Law is a profession which is automatically associated with power and success. Often, teaching is not even considered a career, but a job in which one is underpaid and unappreciated. In the past, I also tended to view working with children as a less challenging occupation because most of it came so easily to me. Recently, however, I have watched how uncomfortable some people are with children and I have realized that a teaching career takes more talent and hard work than I had previously thought. Furthermore, I am an idealist and I want to make a difference in the world. I know that I

will make a greater difference working with children because that is where I feel my 'calling.'

If this description of motivation is representative of the attitudes of women career changers, are men's motivations similar? The research raises other provocative questions as well. What underlying attitudes and expectations do these career decisions reflect? Does the process of entry into teaching differ significantly for men and for women? How can teacher education programs best serve these people?

Theoretical Framework

There is as yet little research on those who choose teaching as a second career. There is however a body of literature on adult development (Erikson, 1963,1980, 1982; Levinson, 1978,1984,1986), career change within the business world (Hall, 1986; Van Maanen, 1977), and the career psychology of women (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988) that informs this study. Research in the field of women's studies and the feminization of teaching also contributes to an understanding of the context in which career decisions are made and the ways in which gender may shape these decisions.

Career Change

To understand the significance of a career or a career change in a person's life, both the individual and the career environment must be studied (Van Maanen,1977; Louis,1980; Levinson,1978,1986). No longer is there only one socially accepted vision of a career path. The traditional concept of the linear career, a hierachical progression through a single profession, has been supplemented by the steady state career, wherein an individual acquires additional skills within a single field without upward movement, and the spiral career, wherein an individual moves through

positions in related or diverse fields (Driver, 1980; Louis, 1980). Corporate mores and values, the character of the organization, and the nature of career development within the organization have all contributed to these changes (Hall,1986). At one time, caring in the name of public service, was at least nominally, a part of corporate ethics.* Today, the profit motive has fully replaced the service motive. The image of the corporate family has faded as corporate cut-backs and restructuring have eliminated guaranties that a loyal worker would always be guaranteed work. For both employer and employee, the definition of career has taken on new meanings

Historical Context

While these dynamics were changing within the business world, changing social structures and lifestyles were also influencing career attitudes. The "Baby Boom Cohort," influenced by the values and mores of the sixties, were as concerned with autonomy, personal growth and fulfillment, and a greater balance between work life and family life (Hall and Richter, 1985 in Hall, 1986) as they were with status and career achievements. No longer was a commitment to business or a profession seen as a commitment for life.

Both in and out of the workplace, education began to be seen as a life-long process. Changing career demands and changing career structures created an ongoing need for new knowledge and skills. The need for continued learning created an environment in which the desire to study for a new career seemed reasonable. In recent years, an emphasis on inter-disciplinary learning has brought about an understanding that knowledge and skills learned in one area contribute to mastery of another area.

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* Campbell and Moses (Hall, 1986) document the service vision of A T & T and other large American corporations. In the 1950's, General Electric's advertisements linked public service and profit motives with the message "At General Electric, progress is our most important product."

Women's Careers

The women s movement has also contributed to the increasing complexity of career concepts in the last two decades. Many women, socialized and educated in the seventies to view work as the primary means of defining their identity, headed along the traditional hierarchical career path, only to find themselves at mid-career caught between the norms of career commitment and the latent and not-so-latent gender-linked realities of contemporary society (Morrison, et. al,1988; Betz & Fitzgerald,1987). Some feeling at this point that they had fulfilled career needs but not personal ones, paused in their linear career path to explore a spiral or steady state career path. Their needs have led both them, their husbands, and the men with whom they work to explore divergent career opportunities.

The realities of the business world have led many women to pause mid-career and reconsider their priorities. While the barriers to women's entry into middle-management have been largely eliminated, access to senior positions remains blocked. "...At the top, personal trust and confidences are what count and these are often difficult to achieve in male/female relationships" (Hall, 1986, p.344). In the business world, few women formed the mentor relationships that contribute so significantly to career satisfaction and success (Levinson,1987,1988). Early generations of career women departed from the traditional feminine role in chosing a career course. School and home experiences rarely helped them develop attitudes and expectations that would help them negotiate the formal and informal structures of career life (Aisenberg and Harrington,1988; Betz & Fitgerald,1987). As a result, the career path of the business world remains

only partially open to women (Hall, 1986).

Women's Studies

Chodorow (1978) and Gilligan (1982) see the differentiation of gender roles within the family as the key to understanding masculine and feminine roles in contemporary society. The isolation of the traditional mother, the devaluation of this role by society, and the relative absence of the father from the family create a self-perpetuating model of role expectations. The family is a subsystem of a culture. Family structures recreate and perpetuate the division of labor and the values associated with this labor as defined by society. As a consequence, limited expectations by and for women are perpetuated.

Critical feminist educational theory extends feminist theory to schooling (Weiler,1988; Tabakin & Densmore,1986). Schools promote in students "the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy" (Althusser, in Weiler,1988, p.9). In so doing, they promote and maintain the existing division of labor. The outcome of this is that many women who enter the business world do so as strangers in a strange land, lacking a knowledge of the rules of the game necessary for continued career growth and satisfaction (Aisenberg & Harrington,1988; Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987).

Adult Development

Historically, developmental stages in the life structure were seen to culminate with the end of adolescence. In the 1950s and 1960s, research in geriatrics combined with the psychological theories of Jung and Erikson to give a new conception to the life cycle, a conception positing that growth and development continues throughout the life course. Levinson (1978,1984,

1986) proposed the existence of qualitatively different phases each with its own "biopsychosocial" character, each having focal concerns that serve as organizing factors in the life course. The concerns of these phases interact with family and career life, each shaping and being shaped by the other. Needs and interests vary from stage to stage thus motivating and shaping personal and career decisions.

METHODOLOGY

A pilot study of formal and informal interviews with thirty male and female second career teachers and in-depth interviews with one male and one female second career teacher yielded information indicating that this study would be fruitful. Data generating instruments used in the pilot study were then utilized in the full study. These included open-ended interviews, autobiographical statements, journals, classroom observations and post-observation conferences. Since the pilot study indicated that gender socialization was influenced by the historical era in which the men and women were raised, four subject--: Melissa- age 28, formerly a journalist, Sally- age 37, formerly employed in data processing, Jack-age 39,, formerly the owner of a small business, and Carl- age 55, formerly involved in corporate affairs-- were selected to be subjects of in-depth case studies. At the onset of the study, all subjects were pre-service students. Over the duration of the study, each progressed to the status of novice teacher.

Throughout the study, data was analyzed on an ongoing basis. Each stage and component of data collection continuously informed the next. The search was for a greater understanding of the dynamics of career change through the process of making sense of individual stories. The goal was to elicit patterns and themes that would have implications for the individuals

themselves and the teacher education programs that prepare them for their new careers.

Discussion

The categories that emerged as organizational tools to ferret out the role played by gender socialization in motivating men and women to choose teaching as a second career included social reproduction/ resistance, historical context, relationship with parents, role models and mentors, and adult development theory.

Social Reproduction/ Resistance

The four teachers in this study attended schools that differed in population, structure, and affiliations. Their combined school attendance spanned five decades. Yet despite these many differences, their school experiences appear to have been alike in one fundamental way. Whether in public schools or parochial, in urban schools or suburban, in the 1940s or the the 1970s, each heard the messages of a system prescribing a way of being in the world, a way predicated upon a hierarchy of knowledge and power, a way differentiating the roles to be played in this hierarchy by men from those to be played by women. These messages, transmitted at school and confirmed at home and in the community, were internalized by each of the four. The messages informed them of society s expectations, and guided them in setting expectations for themselves. The influence of these messages did not fade when school was left behind, but became part of a schema through which the work and play experiences of adult life were interpreted. This schema changed as each adapted to and assimilated new experiences, but the underlying messages, like a "regime of truth" (Foucault in Popkewitz,1987, p.4) appear to have continuously exerted influence

whenever important decisions were to be made.

The messages heard at school included systematic instruction in what Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) refer to as "the rules of the game." In these school environments dominated by didactic teaching, the rules of the game were often the only teaching that was a multi-sensory, total learning curriculum. By what was said and what was left unsaid, by the actions of teachers and the model of peers who succeeded and those who failed, by the structure of the classrooms, the decorations on the walls, the construction of the textbooks, and by countless daily, weekly, and monthly procedures, students learned "the rules" by which they would construct their life course. For each of the two men in this study, familiarity with the rules would facilitate the course of subsequent careers. When Carl* graduated from high school, he believed himself to be well-equipped for his future. And so he was. His ability to take deposits of knowledge, attitudes and values (Freire,1984) from his teachers and supervisors and apply them to the task at hand would facilitate his school and corporate achievement. As Carl, himself, ascended in the corporate hierarchy, he reinforced this way of being by passing on his own deposits of knowledge to those who worked for him. To climb the hierarchy of knowledge by becoming a teacher contributed significantly to his decision to change careers.

Jack**, too, was able to extend the rules he learned in school to his career life. While Carl's family had no doubts that school would give their son the tools for a successful life, Jack's family was more ambivalent. This weaker cohesion between home and school mediated the messages Jack internalized. Still, Jack learned a way of being in school that would enable

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* Carl was age 55 when he made his decision to become a teacher.
** Jack was age 39 when he made his decision to become a teacher.

him, when he chose to do so, to successfully negotiate the paths of the career world.

The school saw Jack as a "late bloomer" and "underachiever." These labels gave Jack the information that he had the potential to achieve even if he did not do so. In the school's eyes Jack did not take full advantage of the opportunities offered to him. Nonetheless, Jack managed to internalize a model of these opportunities and the rules of the game. Years later, when Jack decided to open a small business with his father, he, consciously or not, decided to play according to the rules he had learned in school.

Jack, his confidence now bolstered by twelve years of success in the business world, has a desire to redo the past, to prove himself by the mainstream standards that he internalized in school. He continues to disdain those standards that he disdained as a youth but he seeks to prove that his is a philosophical stance rather than a mask for the inability to follow the mainstream model. In a sense he sees this as "the manly thing to do." In becoming a teacher, Jack is committed to transforming the educational system. Nonetheless, he wishes both to prove himself by the rules of the game and to challenge those rules.

The messages heard by the two women in the study differed from those heard by the men. The messages they heard did not provide a familiarity with those rules and expectations that proved so useful to the men as a template for action in the business world. Like Jack, Melissa* was not a model scholar. Private testing indicated that Melissa was capable of performing well above grade level in these areas. Still, she plodded along in the classroom situation. Her teachers did not consider her a "late bloomer" or an "underachiever." "That's the way girls are," they said. "Nothing you can

* Melissa was age 28 when she made her decision to become a teacher.

do about it. Girls just aren't good at math and science." Melissa was never told that there were things she could not do because she was a girl, but she was, in a sense, excused from doing them because she was a girl. The expectation that was set for Carl, Jack, and other boys in school that, sooner or later, they would meet each challenge was not set for Melissa. Consequently, she never received the information that she could, should, or needed to achieve as the men in the study did.

For women, the message was that form was much more important than achievement (Mattingly,1975; Lanier and Little,1986; Janeway,1971; Miller,1987). The gains of the women's movement not withstanding, in the world in which Melissa grew up, school and home socialized girls to be ladies. In the modern world, girls would work, even have careers, but they must be gracious, helpful, and charming (Miller,1987; Rich,1979,1986). Carl and Jack were expected to compete, to assert themselves, to achieve. Middle class boys, destined to become community leaders and family providers, did not have the option of choosing not to participate when they were not successful. Since it was not expected that girls would share these responsibilities, they did not have to be prepared in the same way (Abel, 1984; Miller, 1987; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). When Melissa got to the business world, she was the alien she felt herself to be. She feared that her continued success might compromise the values she had been raised to respect, that this compromise would cause a schism between herself and her family. Her ultimate decision to become a teacher reflects this alienation and her need to feel a sense of connectedness (Gilligan,1982). Melissa wanted to find a more comfortable world, a world more compatible with the messages she had internalized at home and in school.

Like Melissa, the messages Sally* received at school prepared her for a way of being different from that for which Carl and Jack were prepared. There were no expectations that she could or should achieve academically. Her parents belief that Sally was "not dumb" did not offset the evidence of her school experience. Unable to excel in the drill and practice of academics, Sally's only hope for success lay in her ability to behave like the model schoolgirl. The school was pleased that Sally graduated from high school with the qualities necessary, in their view, to be a good wife and mother.

Despite those expectations, Sally went to college and climbed the career ladder in the traditionally male world of computers. All the while, the messages she had internalized as a schoolgirl continued to exert an influence upon the way she viewed and participated in the business world. At first this was advantageous. Sally was not perceived as a threat by those with whom she worked. She was conscientious, committed, and disciplined -- all the qualities of the Catholic schoolgirl-- and was rewarded accordingly with pay and promotions. This mode of operating sufficed until Sally attained a certain corporate level. Then it ceased to be adequate to earn coveted promotions . Although, she had not been taught the rules of the game in school, Sally now understood them. However, she was unwilling or unable to play by them. Like Melissa, she could not or would not relinquish the more feminine traits that she valued and that had stood her in good stead for so long. It was at this point when Sally became sensitive to the disparity between her values and those that were necessary to "break through the glass ceiling" (Morrison, et. al.,1987) to higher career accomplishments, that she began to develop a sense of alienation. This alienation, like that felt by Melissa, evolved from the schism Sally perceived

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* Sally was age 37 when she made her decision to become a teacher.

between the values in the world she once knew and those in the world she had come to know. It is the need to overcome that feeling of alienation, to better integrate the expectations of personal and career life, to connect childhood values with adult practices that has motivated Sally to seek a new career in teaching.

For each of these four men and women, the motivation to become a teacher is rooted in a world view comprised of attitudes and values shaped by the home and school experience of early years. These attitudes and values, ways of acting and reacting learned during their school days, continue to exert an influence upon the decisions they make and how they carry out these decisions. In this way, the gender messages they have internalized continue to hold sway.

Historical Context

Collectively, the four people in this study lived through the eras of the Great Depression, the New Deal, World War II, the Cold War, McCarthyism, the Viet Nam War, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Women's Movement. The ideology of the era combined with the personal endowment of the individual and the particular culture of his/her family to shape the trajectory of the life course. Gender expectations of "one's proper role" were and are directly related to the needs and philosophy of the historical period.

For Carl, the economic insecurity of the Depression coupled with the devastation of the Holocaust gave strength to his parents' view that the world was a place of chaos. Only through traditions and social structures could there be security and order. Therefore when Carl entered the career world, he was willing to accept the responsibilities of manhood, to follow the prescribed course, to pursue a career in keeping with his role of *pater*

familias. During the course of his adult life, the world changed. The prescriptions made less sense; arbitrarily defined roles were open to question. The Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement revealed the artificiality and the injustice of the traditions and institutions that had once seemed so necessary. Gradually Carl began to see a role for himself that would have been unthinkable when he was twenty-one, the role of teacher, a role that was for "women and men who lacked ambition" (transcript) among Carl's college peers.

Jack grew up in a world just a few miles removed from Carl's. Yet, born seventeen years later, he grew up within a totally different historical context . From his very early days, Jack saw that traditions and institutions were not sacrosanct. By the time Jack was in high school, Brown vs. the Board of Education was history. Betty Friedan had written The Feminine Mystique. An ethos of caring and risk taking was advocated for both men and women. Change was both possible and desirable. The attitudes and values of the sixties, however, did not displace more traditional American attitudes and values but co-existed and conflicted with them. Jack, like many of his generation, internalized this complex dynamic of discordant attitudes and values. His career path reflects the intellectual and emotional tug-of-war played out in the political and social issues of this period and the more conservative periods that followed. His motivation to become a teacher is rooted both in his own experience and the historical context of the period in which he came of age.

Sally grew up in the same historical era as Jack. Jack received a message from the culture of the day that young men need not follow the traditional ways. According to the message Jack heard, playing the game of corporate life, adhering to structures rooted in a misguided value system

meant giving up the hope of social transformation. Sally, too, heard that traditional ways need not be followed. Whereas building a corporate career conjured up visions of restriction and conformity for Jack, it conjured up visions of freedom and autonomy for Sally. Now, in the eighties, in a historical climate that once again respects women doing "women's work," Sally has made her decision to become a teacher.

To gain an understanding of the influence of historical context on Melissa's decision to become a teacher is more problematic. Coming of age within the past decade, she is a child of a world whose mores and values are currently evolving. When Melissa graduated from college, the prevalent voice of the youth culture was one of aspiring Yuppiedom. With this in mind, Melissa, quelling her thoughts of a career in teaching, set out to produce in the "real world." The context of her career path contrasts with that of Carl's world where the emphasis was on security and that of Jack's and Sally's where the emphasis was on change and empowerment. Now, just a few years later, there is a popular culture affirming the value of more traditional life-styles. Melissa's decision to teach may well be rooted in this philosophical change or it may be rooted in the refrain of the sixties that calls men and women to work to build a better world. One thing is clear: the world is once again focused on the importance of education and the professionalism of those who teach. This may well be the lure that brought Melissa to choose a career in teaching.

For Melissa and Carl, Jack and Sally, the intellectual climate of the day has contributed to their motivation to change careers and rewards their decision to become teachers. In addition the motivation of each has been shaped by the visions of gender roles prevalent in the historical eras of the times in which they have lived.

Relationship with Parents

For each person in this study, the relationship with his or her parents exerted some influence on the decision to select a career in teaching. Both the women in the study, Sally and Melissa, have a close relationship with their parents. Their need to be independent co-exists with their desire to maintain close ties. As Sally and Melissa grew up, each was told, "You can do anything that you want in your life." Choice was not limited by gender considerations. The importance of marrying and raising a family was not stressed, and neither woman ever remembers hearing the words: "Women can't...."

While Sally's parents and Melissa's parents have always supported their daughter's choices, there is reason to believe that they, especially the mothers, were nonetheless ambivalent about these non-traditional career decisions. Both Melissa and Sally were raised to be young ladies, to value traditional feminine ways. Each mother actually gave dual messages to her daughter: the message of opportunity through her spoken words, the message of reproduction through the role she modeled and the behavior she rewarded. As their daughters pursued their chosen career course, their mother's responses were mixed. The support their parents voiced facilitated their endeavors to build careers in the business world (Betz and Fitzgerald,1987). At the same time, the undercurrents of concern they felt and the onus of unfulfilled gender expectations may have contributed to their decisions to choose a career in teaching, a career traditionally within a woman's sphere.

Both Sally and Melissa describe their decision to become teachers as one made with great confidence. Neither felt the need for external verification of her decision. This confidence may stem from their realization

that this new career course complies with the unspoken expectations they internalized at home. Since, in both homes, education was held in great esteem, a career in teaching could be regarded as an affirmation of family values and a worthy occupation. For these women, pay but not status would be compromised in their career change.

His parents' support for Carl was unqualified. The possibility that he would fail to meet their expectations was beyond consideration. Carl felt the need to be independent, to find his own way, but that way fell within the parameters of internalized expectations, financial security, and publicly acknowledged responsibility. To these ends he devoted his twenty- eight year career in corporate life. In contrast to the certainty and independence with which Melissa and Sally made their decision to become teachers, Carl needed a great deal of support and approval when he decided to change careers. This may be related to the fact that in Carl's relationship with his parents, there was no clear message that a career in teaching was a manly career, a career with great financial rewards or status. Nonetheless, Carl's family valued education and community responsibility. Both the attraction that Carl felt to making a career change and the hesitations he felt about doing so were related to his perceptions of family values.

Within Jack's home the traditional expectations of his maternal grandfather contrasted with the alternative paths taken in youth and retirement by his father. By the time Jack was deciding to become a teacher, his parents had come to terms with and had acted on their own transformative vision of social service. They worked with alternative education programs, but they were not teachers. It was his grandfather whom Jack had known as the stereotype of teacher. His grandfather's vision of teaching was a manly vision: traditional, hierarchical, and rational. The

teacher that Jack wanted to be depended more on nurturing and intuitiveness than on the traits his grandfather espoused. Therefore, becoming his own kind of teacher meant for Jack once again working through the conflict of not following his grandfather's expectations, the same expectations he perceived as those of mainstream society. Consequently, like Carl and in contrast to Melissa and Sally, Jack needed a great deal of affirmation in making his decision to become a teacher. His relationship with his parents motivated his career decision; his relationship with his grandfather made the decision problematic.

For each of the four men and women, the motivation to become a teacher is rooted in part in the relationship they had with their parents, the attitudes and expectations engendered through these relationships, and the gender roles that were the outcome of these relationships.

Role Models and Mentors

Analysis of the career paths of these men and women supports research findings that career success and satisfaction is related to the presence of role models and mentors at transitional points during an individual's career (Levinson, 1978,84,86; Douvan in Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987). Carl entered the business world motivated by the role model of his father and guided by the mentorship of the man for whom he worked during his first ten years of corporate life. His decision to become a teacher was motivated by the role model of his children. Once in the classroom, Carl did not find a role model to help him make his vision a reality; his cooperating teacher did not know how to respond to a student with Carl's credentials. However, he was able to find the support he needed in the mentor-like resources of the teacher education program in which he was enrolled.

When Jack joined with his father to become partners in a small business, his father served as his mentor. Their relationship lent itself to conflict, characteristic of both the mentor-mentee and the father-son relationship (Levinson, 1978, 1984, 1987), but it also facilitated personal and professional growth and satisfaction for Jack. When Jack was ready to change careers, the role models of those he knew and respected in the education world motivated him to consider himself as their colleague. Once his decision was made, he ran into unforeseen difficulty when his cooperating teacher was unable to serve as role model or mentor. However, as with Carl, the personal quality of his teacher education program serving in a mentoring capacity was able to help him to work through obstacles that at first seemed overwhelming.

Sally found no mentor in the corporate workplace. However, the role model of her father and the philosophy of the women s movement enabled her to find success and satisfaction in her career until she reached a point where continued growth entailed political know-how. Had she had someone to guide her from the beginning, to teach her the rules of the game, she might have been better prepared for what lay ahead. Instead, she developed a sense of alienation. Upon entering her teaching career, Sally found that her teacher education program served in a mentoring capacity, supporting, guiding and informing her of the implications of different aspects of her new career while her cooperating teacher served as an on-site mentor, acknowledging Sally's abilities and affirming her vision of teaching.

Melissa came from a family of educators. In the business world, she found neither role models nor mentors. Although the alienation she felt in her career might have been eased through a mentor's support, this was not to be. Unable to gain a sense of belonging despite a reasonable record of

successes, she turned to a career in teaching. The numerous role models she found among family members and their friends motivated her to "come home" to a world she could understand and in which she could feel at ease, a world whose values she shared, a world in which she felt a sense of "connectedness" (Gilligan,1982). During her student teaching experience, she found her cooperating teacher to be a mentor who could affirm her world view, encourage her to utilize her diverse talents within both the classroom and the greater school environment, and help her to negotiate the politics of the school culture. Melissa's certainty that her decision to teach was the right one for her was strengthened by this relationship.

For each of these four men and women, career decisions and career success and satisfaction have been affected by the presence or absence of role models and mentors. For the men in this study, gender dynamics seemed to impede the relationships with cooperating teachers thus eliminating possible mentor relationships during their school entry experiences.

Adult Development Theory

Life stage concerns appear to have been a motivating factor in the decisions made by each of these four men and women to become teachers. Developmental concerns mediated by issues of gender lead to differences in the significance of what appears to be a motivation common to the four subjects (Piaget,1932; Gilligan,1982; Bettelheim, 1976; Erikson in Gilligan, 1982). Both the commonalities and the differences are relevant to an understanding of the motivations of those who choose teaching as a second career.

An examination of the alternative meanings that the phrase "leading a more integrated life" has for these subjects serves to clarify the relationship

between developmental stage and career change motivation. For Carl, at 55, leading a more integrated life meant filling in the missing pieces on the map of his life's accomplishments. Carl had married, raised a family, been successful in business, and actively involved in the arts. He had fulfilled the charge given him by school and family. However, Carl had also been raised to believe in social action. This he had supported to date in thought but not in action.. A career in teaching would enable him to do this. Moreover, a career in teaching would enable Carl to make deeper connections with young people, both giving and receiving through these interactions. Carl's motivation to become a teacher reflects issues of generativity, developmental concerns with which the mature person is concerned (Erikson,1986; Levinson,1978; Fordham,1986).

Younger people, as they approach the age of 30, begin to question the habits and values of their past years, begin to make peace with the messages of their youth (Levinson, 1978, 1984). For Melissa, nurturing and caring were stressed as concerns for all but concerns of the utmost importance for women. After college, Melissa turned her back on these messages. She sought to prove her independence by building a career that stressed her separateness, a focus that Erikson (1950, 1963) attributes to the stage of Intimacy vs. Isolation and Levinson (1978) attributes to the Early Adult Transition. Now, at 28, Melissa is better able to accept the bonds of intimacy, better able to reconcile her need to be an autonomous women with her need to live by the values with which she was raised (Levinson,1978,1984). She seeks to live a more integrated life. As a "modern woman," Melissa hopes to build that niche for herself in the work world that Levinson (1978, 1984, 1986) describes as the task of Early Adulthood, a niche Melissa hopes would

not conflict with her vision of the role of wife and mother. This is the integrated life for which Melissa is searching in her career change decision.

Both Sally and Jack made their decisions to become teachers as they approached their fortieth birthdays. This is an age Levinson (1978,1984,1987) describes as a period of turmoil, a time when men and women question the life structures they have built, the choices they have made and the values that underlie those choices. Sally, at age 35, felt that she was leading an ideal life. Two years later, in the same job and the same environment, she felt a sense of alienation, a sense of incompleteness, a sense of stagnation. She decided to give up the career in data processing to which she had been totally committed and begin a new career as a teacher. The rewards of a job well done within the corporation were no longer enough. According to adult development theory, it was not just that Sally had had the experience of teaching and found it satisfying or that her supervisor's insensitive response to hers illness emphasized the lack of caring in the business world; rather, Sally's developmental needs combined with these experiences and traditional gender expectations to motivate a change in her life course. For Sally, seeking an integrated life means a life in which such traditionally feminine traits as caring and nurturing have a place during working hours.

As Jack approached 40, he, too, found the successful career he had worked so hard to establish less fulfilling. He found less challenge, less fulfillment available in the business world. All of these feelings emerged or, in Jack's case, re-emerged as he entered his mid-life transition (Levinson, 1978, 84, 86). Jack took the messages of the women's movement very seriously. If the world was to be different for future generations, men must play a different role in the child-rearing process (Chodorow,1978;

Gilligan,1982). Jack felt the need to lead a more integrated life, a life in which his career would not take him away from his family life but would enhance it. Teaching offered this opportunity.

For each of these men and women, a more integrated life meant a life with greater connections between the values of home and work, youth and adulthood. However, the concerns that underlay the desire for a more integrated life varied with developmental stage and gender, giving significantly different implications to the motivation of each in choosing a career in teaching.

Motivational Factors

For each of the four men and women in this study, the motivation to leave a career in business and begin a new career in education is rooted in the interplay of personal experience, developmental concerns, and historical context. Preliminary examination of the data indicated that gender socialization played a role in motivating men and women to make this career decision but the dynamics of that role were unclear. It was only when the categories discussed above began to emerge from careful scrutiny of the data in conjunction with ongoing examination of the literature that it was possible to explore and describe the specific influence of gender socialization. Within the context of these categories, a number of motivational factors emerged further illuminating these decisions and the ways in which gender socialization contributed to them.

School Experiences

For each subject, the messages heard in school shaped attitudes and expectations that filtered experience and influenced decision making throughout the life course. These attitudes and expectations appear to be

gender specific, predicated upon a hierarchy of knowledge and power so pervasive that it appears to be natural law (Weiler,1988; Popkewitz, 1986). The more these messages were reinforced by messages and models at home and in the community, the more binding were the attitudes and expectations they engendered. For each, the school experience shaped a vision of teaching and contributed to the motivation for career change.

Parental Expectations

Parental expectations led directly or indirectly to the career paths chosen by each subject. The parents of all four subjects in this study expected that their children would lead traditional lives. For the men, this meant successful careers of their choice. Although the message "You can be anything you want to be." was voiced in all four homes, for the women these words co-existed with the expectation that what they would want would be similar to that which their mothers had wanted. The duality of these expectations contrasts with the more straightforward expectations held for the men. This may be related to the feelings of alienation felt by the women subjects in the business world, feelings that contributed to their decision to change careers. It may also be related to the feelings of comfort and certainty with which each woman made her decision to become a teacher, feelings that contrast with the need for support described by each of the men.

Valuing of Education

All four subjects come from homes where education was highly valued. Knowledge was valued both for the sake of knowledge and as a tool for a better, more secure way of life. In none of these families was it believed that the amount or quality of education received should be gender-related.

Mentors

Both men but neither woman found a mentor in the business world . This absence also may have contributed to the feelings of alienation that motivated the women's career change decisions. (Levinson,1978,86; Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). When the four moved into the classroom, the situation reversed. The women formed a mentor relationship with their co-operating teachers; the men did not. Entry into teaching proved to be more anxiety provoking for the men than for the women. Gender expectations may contribute to this.

Developmental Needs

The motivations of each of the subjects to choose teaching as a second career rose, in part, from the nature of the developmental issues with which they were concerned (Levinson,1978, 1984,1987; Erikson,1950,1963). Gender specific attitudes and expectations further mediated the concerns of each developmental stage. Without exception, the subjects in this study voiced the desire to give and to participate in a culture of caring (Noddings,1984,1988).. However, the implications of this desire varied from person to person.

Sense of Mission

Each of these men and women has chosen teaching motivated in part by a desire to make the world a better place. The alienation and lack of caring felt by women working in a traditionally male business world contributed to the women's desire to do so. For men, the desire to meet new challenges and fulfill unmet goals shaped their motivation for career change.

Desire for An Integrated Life

The desire to live an integrated life contributed to the motivation of each subject. As discussed above, "integrated life" has different meanings in the context of each person's life. These meanings are mediated by developmental concerns and gender-linked expectations. However, for all four, there was the desire for a career that would allow a unity of values at home and in the workplace and a greater sense of continuity of values from generation to generation.

Desire for Autonomy

Each of the four voiced the desire to experience greater autonomy as a motivating factor in his or her decision to leave the office for the classroom. The role of teacher was viewed as decision maker and classroom leader, having articulated goals but free to find his or her own way to those goals. Each was surprised by the feelings of powerlessness that he or she felt during their early days in the classroom. For the men, this feeling was more intense and more frustrating.

Desire for Challenge

All four subjects expected teaching to be challenging. To do something meaningful with one's life would require a task that was difficult. Nonetheless, all were surprised at just how difficult teaching proved to be. The return to novice status and the enormity of the challenge was particularly disorienting to the men in the study.

Feelings of Career Achievement

All four subjects anticipated and found that skills developed in their earlier careers could be used to good advantage in their role as teachers. None of the subjects anticipated that social and political dynamics of the educational world might resemble those of the business world. The men

were the first to recognize the similarities and to modify their behavior accordingly. The women responded more slowly and less comfortably. While it is possible that age and experience shape these responses, there appears to be a gender component as well. In many ways the "rules of the game" in the business world are comparable to those in the educational world. To the extent that this is so, these women may be at a disadvantage at negotiating the system that underlies their newly chosen careers.

The information included in these case studies indicates that the literature of gender socialization is relevant to an understanding of the motivation of men and women who choose teaching as a second career. Despite the social changes of the past two decades, the gender hierarchy continues to differentiate the experiences of men and women at home, at work, and at school. While the information in these four case studies cannot be generalized, it suggests certain patterns that may contribute to our understanding of why men and women choose to become second career teaching and what the implications of their choice may be for their own growth and development and the growth and development of the teaching profession as a whole.

Implications for Teacher Education

Teaching and Gender

Gender expectations transmitted by school and family appear to have had significant impact on the attitudes and expectations of the subjects. If teacher education programs seriously hope to contribute to the professionalization of teachers, they must address these issues. They must first of all consider their own role in perpetuating gender expectations and the gender hierarchy. The prescriptive character of many teacher education programs does little to challenge the traditional expectations held by and for

women in society. Women who have been socialized for generations to the role of silent service should not be faulted for how they act but encouraged to understand what they do, why they do it, and what other possibilities exist. The same holds true for men who through their conscious and unconscious actions play the role to which they have been socialized and in so doing perpetuate the gender hierarchy in the schools.

These goals cannot be achieved through teacher education programs that place the primary emphasis on didactic teaching. Teacher education programs do need to make their programs more intellectually solid: to insure that teachers have depth of content knowledge and the skills to effectively communicate that knowledge. However, coupled with these long acknowledged requirements, there must be an emphasis placed on reflective teaching (Holmes Report,1986). Rather than criticizing their students for lack of knowledge, lack of communicative ability, or lack of perceptiveness, teacher education programs must guide students in the pursuit of these ends. Since it is impossible to achieve these goals within a limited period of formal study, teacher education programs need to focus their efforts on creating a mindset that will allow teachers to view education as a process for which they must take responsibility rather than a product dispensed to them by others. When teachers believe that they have the responsibility and the ability to chart their own course, they are more likely to assume these roles in the classroom. In so doing, they may move forth from the limits imposed by gender socialization to become classroom leaders and decision makers.

It may seem that the relationship of a teacher with his or her parents falls far afield of the responsibilities of teacher education programs. Yet the data reveals how an individual's career actions can be colored by this relationship. It is certainly not the role of teacher education programs to act

in a therapeutic manner. However, the evidence of Zeichner (1983) testifies to the fact that when teachers enter the classroom, they often abandon the ways of thinking they developed during their student years and revert to the more conservative attitudes and expectations to which they were socialized at home and at school. If teachers are to permanently renegotiate the attitudes and expectations they internalized during their childhood years, the way these attitudes and expectations were shaped must be brought to the surface. To do this, teacher education programs must provide opportunities for self-awareness and reflection on an ongoing basis.

Career experience of the subjects corroborated research findings that the existence of positive role models and mentors facilitates career entry (Levinson,1978,1984,1986; Bowen, 1985). Cooperating teachers have a great potential for serving in this capacity. However, the experience of two out of four of the subjects indicates that special problems arise for those serving as cooperating teachers to second career teachers. Of particular concern is the need to set and articulate appropriate expectations for those who have already proved themselves as competent in the business world. This need appears to be most problematic in dyads where the student is male and the cooperating teacher is female. This confirms findings that special care is needed in matching second career students with cooperating teachers (Driver, et. al.,1987) and supports research findings that cross-sex mentoring relationships may be problematic (Bowen,1985; Levinson,1987). These difficulties highlight the need for those assuming the responsibilities of cooperating teacher to have engaged in some formal preparation for the role and for both student and cooperating teacher to be provided with a forum in which the dynamics of their relationship may be discussed on an ongoing

basis. This would be done most effectively under the aegis of the teacher education program.

Analysis of the data indicates that age and experience influence the needs and interests of those who enter teaching. If teacher education programs are to maximize the potential of teachers, they must address these differences in their curriculum. Such differentiation would not only lead to better prepared, more confident novice teachers but would also model the process of identifying divergent needs and accommodating them within the spectrum of a given curriculum. It would allow prospective teachers to experience a sense of community while feeling that their own needs were being met, an experience essential if, in their own classrooms, they are to address both the needs of the group and the needs of individual.

It may be true that most of these recommendations do not fall within the scope of traditional teacher education programs. They may appear as additional responsibility and additional demands far exceeding the interest and skills of many professors of teacher education (Lanier & Little,1986). However, it is simple fact that the traditional ways have not been effective. The widespread call to increase the formal knowledge base of teachers is important but not sufficient. More than twenty years ago Jersild called upon teacher education programs to find ways to help teachers to better understand themselves and their actions (Jersild,1965). Today, this call remains little heeded. Without an understanding of who they are and why they function as they do, it is unlikely that teachers can change, be empowered, or become more professional. Without an understanding of how gender expectations and the gender hierarchy ever present in the schools shape their own attitudes and expectations, second career teachers will

continue to pass on to their students these same attitudes and expectations thus circumscribing opportunities for themselves and for society as a whole.

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